

1. El Lissitzky (1890–1941). *Abstract Cabinet* (1928). Movable wall construction made of wood, steel lamella, rotating glass vitrine, fabric covering, 330 x 427 x 549 cm. Courtesy of Sprengel Museum Hannover.



Original und Reproduktion: Alexander Dorner and the (Re)production of Art Experience

Curator Alexander Dorner is best known for his gallery reinstallation and redesign at the Provinzialmuseum in Hanover during the Weimar Republic era. His galleries used painting, lighting, and other types of architectural framing to suggest epochal “realities” to gallery viewers — dark lighting in the medieval galleries (reminiscent of their original church contexts), and an immersive surround of contemporary abstraction in El Lissitzky’s *Abstract Cabinet* (1927–28, a proto-installation artwork within which other works of modern art were contained).¹ In his writing as in his praxis, Dorner consistently suggested that the aesthetic experience of an artwork was best conveyed by a complete picture, which for him included placement in an illustrative context, rather than through the material aspects of a cultural object alone. Dorner’s cultivation of gallery “atmospheres” to surround objects on view was no idle aesthetic choice within a Weimar Republic art world in transition — an art world debating the terms of curatorial stewardship, deliberating over the virtues of restorations, reevaluating technologies of artistic production, and generally revising the legislatures of a new landscape of museums incorporated in the service of a democratic public.² Between 1928 and 1930, all of these seemingly disparate concerns coalesced in a public debate about facsimiles of artworks, to which Dorner was a major contributor. Combating claims that restoration was tantamount to forgery, and comparing the resituating of artworks through the process of museum acquisition to the expanded circulation of art through reproductive technologies, Dorner led the polemic to restore, enhance, and even replicate artistic works. By way of such endeavors, Dorner believed that he could most efficaciously distribute aesthetic effect.

Key to the “Facsimile Debate,” as it has come to be known by art history, was a 1929 essay published in the Hamburg art journal *Der Kreis* by Max Sauerlandt, director of the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.³ Sauerlandt railed against a prospectus sent to him by a Würtemberg-based metal fabricator, offering a range of prices for variously sized reproductions of the famed thirteenth-century stone statue of the *Bamberger Reiter*. The modern art enthusiast emphatically rejected this kind of fabrication as “fake!” (“gefälscht!”), proposing that the deception inherent in the translation from the medium of stone into that of metal would produce in the viewer a “corruption of

the senses, of taste, and of artistic feeling” (“Verderbnis der Sinne, des Geschmacks, des künstlerischen Gefühls”).⁴ The objection was more than a protomodernist defense of medium specificity: Sauerlandt called the “absurd” forgery of the horse-man a “barbaric mistreatment” of a “defenseless” original work of art.⁵

Sauerlandt’s next article in the September issue of *Der Kreis* argued that reproductions also mistreated their audiences. He singled out a recent exhibition in Hanover in which thirty-five original works were “smuggled” in amongst reproductions of original artworks.⁶ Viewers were challenged to differentiate between the originals and the copies in order to win a prize. Such instruction could only usurp viewers’ proper appreciation of original works, Sauerlandt surmised. “A life of false feelings — the worst thing there is! — is the inevitable result.”⁷ Elsewhere in his article, Sauerlandt took a sarcastic tone, scorning the justification of reproductive “deceptions” on the basis of an “all things to all” (“alles alles”) “communist” spirit: “We have pearls — you like them too? Here! Take them in handfuls: deceptively similar wax beads!” Sauerlandt continued: “Drawings by Dürer, Grünewald, Rembrandt? Here they are! ‘It is only prejudice that precludes the happy owner of such a replica from having the feeling of owning the original itself!’”⁸ Sauerlandt’s last line sarcastically quoted art historian Wilhelm Pinder, a likely reference to another recent speech that had invoked the same quote. That talk, bearing the provocative title “On the Possibility of Fidelity to the Original in Replicas of the Plastic Arts (Plaster-Cast Museums)” (“Über die Möglichkeit originaltreuer Nachbildungen plastischer Kunstwerke [Gips-Museen]”), was delivered by Carl G. Heise, head of the Museums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Lübeck, and advocated the merits of reproductions.⁹

Sauerlandt’s articles in *Der Kreis* were then followed by an essay by Heise himself, bearing the title “Commitment to the Copy?” (“Bekanntnis zur Kopie?”), which defended the use of reproductions. His article very likely seemed defensive to its readers: in it, Heise justified his own curatorial cultivation of a plaster-cast collection, displayed in Lübeck’s Katharinenkirche. Heise asked how these could be simultaneously regarded (by unattributed others) as reflective of a “museum of the future” and denounced by others as “an example of a dangerous, shallow form of conserving art.”¹⁰ One finds, in both Sauerlandt’s allegations and Heise’s justifications, an implicit association between the potential for the reproduction of art objects and fears about their diminishing value and care.

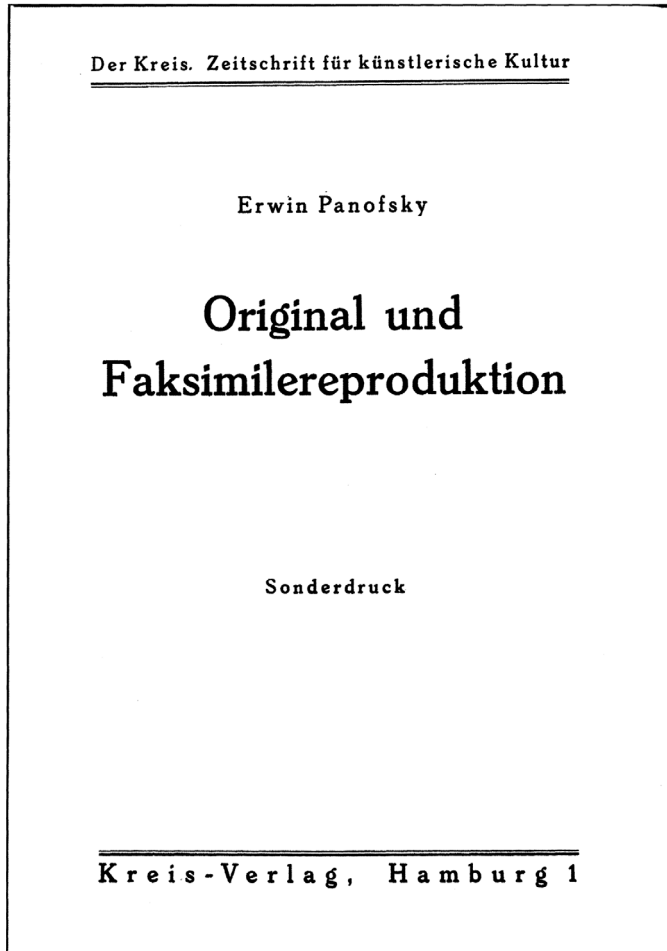
The debates continued over a series of articles, authored by a number of art theorists and museum leaders, in the left-wing Hamburg journal. Erwin Panofsky, at that time a profes-

2. The Bamberger Reiter (Bamberg Horseman), in situ in the cathedral of Bamberg (first half of the thirteenth century). Author unknown. Photograph by Władysław Łoś. Licensed under the creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bamberger_Reiter.jpg



ator in Hamburg, contributed the longest article to the Kreis series. Published in full under the title “Original und Faksimilereproduktion” in a special edition under the Kreis imprint, Panofsky’s text argued that facsimile reproduction could not approximate “original experience”—that is, the experience of standing in front of an original—but could certainly give a better, albeit “qualified” impression of artistic intent than defaulting only to originals in absentia.¹¹ Panofsky acknowledged that taste of the day favored *Echtheitserlebnis*—that is, seeing, experiencing, and maintaining the “unrepeatable organic singularity” of the material artifact—over *Sinnerlebnis*, the experience of sensing what he called the “conceptual form” of art (which, implicit in this argument, is not necessarily beholden to its materials). Although he perceived this inclination as a contemporary cultural tendency, Panofsky himself did not claim this preference.¹² To begin, he argued, not all artists

3. Erwin Panofsky, "Original and Faksimilereproduktion." Title page, special issue, *Der Kreis* (Spring 1930). Illustrated in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 57/58 (Spring/Autumn 2010): 332. Permission to reprint courtesy of Michael Diers.



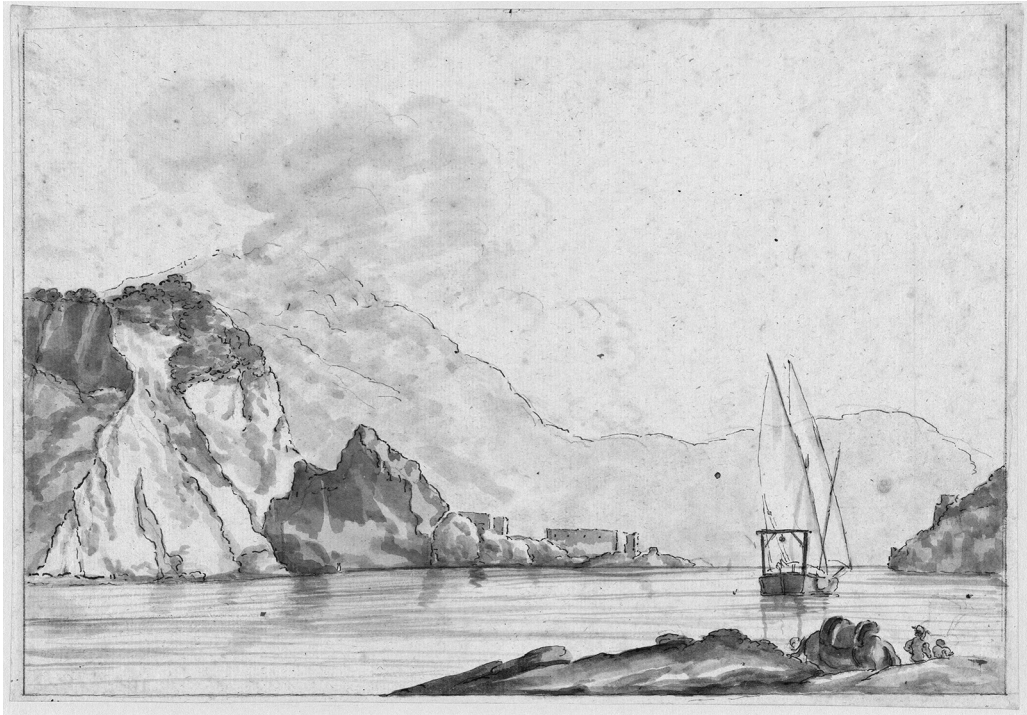
intended to collaborate with the weathering of nature; and, in direct response to the articles that had preceded his, Panofsky made a qualified defense of the “polychromatic intruders” in Heise’s Lübeck display that allowed a “poor student” such as himself to get an impression of an artist’s original intent.¹³ Finally, Panofsky also argued there were gradations of importance of material significance—for example, that they are more important in applied arts or “arts and crafts,” which are “first and foremost formed material,” than in fine arts, which are “first and foremost materialized conceptual forms.”¹⁴

Dorner, then a young director of the *Kunstsammlung* at the Provinzialmuseum in Hanover, also contributed to this published discussion, weighing in decisively in favor of reproductions. He was, in fact, a member of the leadership of the very Hanover art society that presented the exhibition of facsimiles so fiercely decried by Sauerlandt.¹⁵ On view from May through June of 1929 at the Kestnergesellschaft, the exhibition *Original und Reproduktion* placed high-quality print reproductions alongside original artworks on paper and challenged the general public and experts alike to identify the



4. Frans van Mieris the Younger (1689–1763). *Bildnis des Willem van Mieris* (circa 1737). Black and white crayon on paper, 262 x 215 mm. Copyright Hamburger Kunsthalle /bpk. Photograph by Christoph Irrgang.

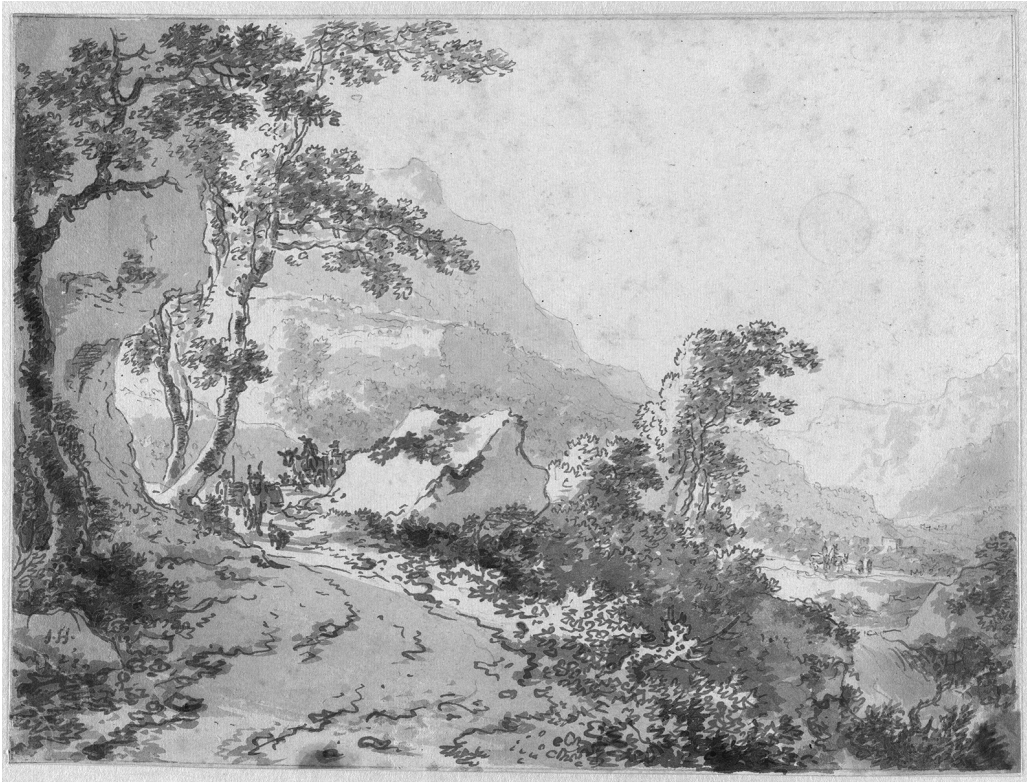
originals. Works on view included original artworks by Paul Cézanne, Käthe Kollwitz, Claude Lorrain, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and Hans von Marées, on loan from public collections in Bremen, Hamburg, Hanover, Lübeck, as well as private collections.¹⁶ While the Kestnergesellschaft records pertaining to this exhibition were either destroyed or are missing today, the Hamburger Kunsthalle archives offer a small window into the types of work displayed — on paper, in pen, pencil, crayon, chalk, and graphite.¹⁷ Promotional materials for the exhibition led with the polemic: “PRIZE QUESTION: Which are the originals?” (“PREISFRAGE: Welches sind die



5. Anonymous (Dutch), *Südliche Flusslandschaft* (no date). Pen, pencil, and graphite, 252 x 365 mm. Copyright Hamburger Kunsthalle /bpk. Photograph by Christoph Irrgang.



6. Jan Hackaert (1689–1685), *Südliche Flusslandschaft mit Weg an einem Ufer* (circa or after 1658). Ink and pencil on paper, 201 x 257 mm. Copyright Hamburger Kunsthalle /bpk. Photograph by Christoph Irrgang.



7. Jan Hackaert (1629–1685), *Südliche Gebirgslandschaft* (circa or after 1658). Graphite, ink, and pencil, 179 x 241 mm. Copyright Hamburger Kunsthalle / bpk. Photography by Christoph Irrgang.

Originale?“), challenging audience members to compete to identify the original works of art. A newspaper reporting on the competition concluded that “at first no one wanted to make a serious attempt at answering the question because they all thought it seemed impossible” (“Zunächst wollte niemand sich ernstlich an die Beantwortung der Frage machen, weil es jedem unmöglich erschien”), suggesting that the availability of original objects might be of less importance than the purists contended.¹⁸ No one, not even the experts, found it simple to differentiate the originals from the reproductions.

On the occasion of this exhibition, Sauerlandt, Heise, and other art historians contributed to a June 1929 “survey” on the theme, which was published as an insert in the *Hannoverscher Kurier* and titled “Original oder Reproduktion?” — the exhibition title rendered as a question. Indeed, Sauerlandt’s response appeared on the front page under the title “Apologia for the Original” (“Verteidigung des Originals”) and formed the core of the second facsimile essay that Sauerlandt would later publish in the September 1929 edition of *Der Kreis*.¹⁹ Dorner’s article, arguing for “Facsimiles’ Right to Life” (“Das Lebensrecht des Faksimiles”), likewise presaged his later contribution to the *Kreis* debates. Appearing in the March 1930 issue, Dorner’s article proposed bringing *in absentia* artworks into the contemporary imagination through facsimiles. Dorner did not altogether forsake the value of original artifacts; he maintained

8. Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712),
*Der Brand eines Hauses auf dem
Domplatz von Antwerpen* (no date).
Graphite and pen, 251 x 118 mm.
Copyright Hamburger Kunsthalle /bpk.
Photography by Christoph Irrgang.



that uniqueness and authenticity were important to the display of relics. Dorner exemplified his argument with the conjuring object of Frederick the Great's sword, which he wrested from the debated degrees of "Erlebnis" due to works of art:

It is understandable that no agreement can be reached in debates on the value of facsimile reproduction. For those who are more concerned with preserving the integrity of

PREISFRAGE

WELCHES SIND DIE ORIGINALE?

Um festzustellen, wie weit es den Beschauern noch möglich ist, das Original von der Reproduktion zu unterscheiden, veranstalten wir während der 1. Woche unserer Ausstellung

ORIGINAL UND REPRODUKTION

bis einschließlich Sonntag, den 2. Juni, eine Preisfrage: Welches sind die Originale? Die Ausstellung enthält neben den Reproduktionen etwa 40 Originale. Die Preisfrage bezieht sich auf die in der linken unteren Ecke mit Nummern versehenen Kunstwerke. Auf der Rückseite dieser Karte sind die Nummern der Stücke einzutragen, die Sie für die Originale halten. Es sind 20 Preise, Originalgraphiken, Reproduktionen und Bücher ausgesetzt, die unter die besten Lösungen verteilt werden. Bei Gleichwertigkeit erfolgt die Verteilung nach Los.

KESTNER-GESELLSCHAFT E.V.
HANNOVER KÖNIGSTRASSE 8

9. Original und Reproduktion exhibition invitation card (undated). Alexander Dorner papers (BRM 1), file 448, Harvard Art Museums Archives, Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.. Reference Number: ARCH.0000.738.

art works of the past than they are with adapting those works to the uses of our time, facsimiles will be anathema. As far as they are concerned, the ancient work of art can only be experienced at first hand, with a fingertip sense of the cracks in the surface [*Fingerspitzerlebnis*]. Indeed, for them the arduous pilgrimage to the work of art is part of the artistic experience; they want the old work of art to stand isolated from the stream of contemporary life.

For the others, the ideal artistic experience [*Kunsterlebnis*] is naturally obtained before the original, but at the same time it is essential that the art of the past have the greatest possible effect on the present. Now, since, practically speaking, the overwhelming majority of people cannot frequently come into contact with outstanding works of ancient art, and since, on the other hand, the facsimile—even according to its detractors—is able to convey up to 99 percent of the effect of the original, they are willing to sacrifice that one percent in the interests of the majority, and will advocate the production of facsimiles. They do so with a good conscience, because what distinguishes an ancient work of art from a historical relic—like Frederick the Great's sword—is the fact that the sword loses all its value if it is not the original, that is, if I cannot put my hand on the spot where Frederick the Great put his. But with a work of art, the purely historical experience is quite separable from apprehending the artist's ideas. . . . The ideal facsimile can convey the full content of the original with a minimum of loss.²⁰

Dorner eschewed the *Fingerspitzenenerlebnis* of age, the *Kunsterlebnis* of originality, and the overall *Echtheitserlebnis* of authenticity—all of which posed challenges for a broad public to experience an artwork. Dorner’s position in this text drew on an earlier article, from 1926, in which he defended an exhibition of commercial art replicas. Addressed to “he who faces all reproductions of artworks with great skepticism,” Dorner established the criterion for exhibiting facsimiles that would be elaborated in the later debate.²¹ What was valuable was the “spiritual creation of the artwork as such” (“geistige Schöpfung des Kunstwerks als solche”) and not its material and “uniqueness value” (“Einzelheitswert”).²² Dorner’s radical populism, and his desire to bring that “spirit” to a wide audience, was elaborated in his *Kreis* submission. Where Panofsky simply observed a popular valuation of *Echtheitserlebnis* that favored materiality over artistic intentionality or viewer reception, Dorner’s article expressed total enmity toward that tendency and its implication of limiting popular access to art.

It was only in the valuation of the historical artifact that original materials were crucial. The present-day beholder should be able to project his imagination onto the grip of a sword where a historical figure’s hands once rested. At the same time, Dorner believed that the primary obligation of an *artistic* object to its legacy of reception was to grant an experience of artistic form. A facsimile espousing “99 percent” fidelity to original form would thus be a sufficient stand-in for an original art object. To extend Dorner’s logic to its furthest extreme, reproduction of a damaged artwork could even be understood as a means for its preservation and not its opposite—contra the Sauerlandt/Heise dialectic that positioned reproduction as tantamount to abandoning the care of artworks.²³ Dorner suggested that invoking approximating the original appearance of an artwork would perpetuate its aesthetic effect, which he considered its essential value. Reproduction was thus cast as a form of preservation through substitution. This was important, Dorner urged, because maintaining the vitality of artistic form was the only way to reincorporate an artwork into the “stream of contemporary life” from which it would otherwise be isolated.

Dorner found both allies with and antagonists to his argument among the other contributors to the *Kreis* debates. Kurt Karl Eberlein, who would soon contribute to the National Socialist culture machine with advocacy for a good “deutsche Kunst” (1933), argued vehemently against photoreproductive copies of art. Eberlein claimed these were “forgeries,” and while they may be useful to the master scholar who could use photographic information as a “mnemonic aid,” the general public could only be deceived by the artistic losses inherent

therein. For Eberlein, it was of paramount importance to retain the purity of original material.²⁴

Here Eberlein advanced an argument with Dorner and others on the merits of preserving paintings that had been published in the art dealer's journal *Die Kunstaktion* two years earlier.²⁵ In that 1928 "Rundfrage" (polled discussion), appearing under the title "Is It Proper to Restore Paintings?" ("Ist es zweckmäßig, Gemälde zu restaurieren?"), Eberlein condemned restorers who filled in lost sections of paint on canvas: "Leave the artistic effect of the 'as-if' to the counterfeiters and dilettantes! Here, we smirk today at everyone who completes an artistic fragment, no matter if it is a work of art, a piece of music, or a poem — only America has such little taste as to organize this kind of competition for commercial reason."²⁶ To Eberlein, such tastelessness threatened to pervade the field of painting restoration. One can indeed imagine his own smirk while writing: "No educated collector wants the completion of an antique statue, a mosaic ground, or a vase. Yet we still hear again and again of experts raising the incomprehensible argument that paintings are a different case; what is missing in pictures should be replaced!"²⁷ Eberlein found this preposterous, preferring the idea of a museum of copies to a museum of damaged works that had been subjected to completionist restorations.

Here, Eberlein moved the question of painting restoration directly into one about the production of copies by writing, "Since the loss of art and art theft in our cultured civilization are once again a possibility, and since the European museum will become first and foremost a copy museum, the problem of the scholarly replica — which is only made possible today through museum workshops and the courses they offer — is becoming increasingly urgent. Preserved and lost art complement one another."²⁸ But in his submission to *Der Kreis*, Eberlein was unwilling to make any kind of concession — not even jokingly — to acknowledging the value of the replica. "As little as one can forge architecture — for it is as singular as an artwork — one can just as hardly forge a painting or drawing as a facsimile reproduction, even if one believes to have the ability to do so a thousand times. A person who wants to forge the form, the body, and the skin of art should not expect us to argue over whether it is permissible to forge artificial skin, artificial patina, artificial antique value. *Forgeries are still forgeries, even if they're not supposed to be forgeries but only to look like them.*"²⁹ Without citing Alois Riegl directly, in this passage Eberlein used his term *Alterswert* (often translated as "age-value," here as "antique value") — the taste for and value of materials that bear the effects of nature and time.

For Dorner, the notion of the original object placed on exhibition produced its own inherent set of problems, for which

the facsimile may be called upon to answer. Because Dorner believed that cultural materials were best valued and canonized by an approximation of their “original” atmosphere, he held that the fundamental recontextualization of every object inserted within a museum was as much a violation against originality as facsimile replica. His Kreis article elaborated:

When an altar is removed from a church, or a painting from a castle, and is placed in an environment that, generated by the interests and needs of the present, is incomprehensible apart from those interests and needs— [that] is a violation of the original purpose of the work of art and the intentions of its creator. A movement calling for the elimination of museums and the return of all works of art to churches and castles would be essentially destructive [and] diminish the use we make of the works of the past, by making them into islands lying isolated in the stream of contemporary life.

A similar case can be made for the facsimile reproduction of old works of art. A medium that evolved organically in response to the needs of our time, facsimile reproduction makes it possible to convey the riches of the art of the past to the greatest number of people. It goes one step further in the direction that was taken by founding museums. But this new step, too, unavoidably violates the original meaning of the works of art. How could it be otherwise, when pieces of an old world are translated into the terms of a new one and put to its uses? ³⁰

Dorner’s galleries reflected his belief that an original historical environment context was fundamental to the appreciation of art—a kind of reparation for what he termed the “violation” wrought by the museum at large. Dorner was not alone in his concern about the ways in which exhibitions deprived artworks of their proper contextual, functional scope. His Kreis essay echoes contemporary sentiments, such as those of art theorist Carl Einstein, writing on the reinstallation of the Berlin Ethnographic museum four years prior:

An art object or artifact that lands in a museum is stripped of its existential conditions, deprived of its biological milieu and thus of its proper agency. Entry into the museum confirms the natural death of the work of art, it marks the attainment of a shadowy, very limited, let us call it an aesthetic immortality. An altar panel or a portrait is executed for a specific purpose, for a specific environment; especially without the latter the work is but a dead fragment, ripped from the soil; just as if one had broken a mullion

out of a window or a capital from a column; probably the building had already collapsed. And yet one thing is now isolated: the aesthetic phenomenon—from that very moment the effect of the art object beomes falsified and limited.³¹

Dorner's text resembles Einstein's before it—commenting on the removal of an altarpiece from its original context of encounter and use, and, in the museum, facing the ill fate of being “isolated” from the everyday, as a pure vehicle for aesthetic reception. But where Einstein condemned this process as destructive, Dorner saw it as further justification for the importance of the curator in conveying context, as part of the responsibility for stewardship of art and artifacts on display in a museum.

The matter of separating a cultural object from its traditional milieu—and, in resituating it in the museum, necessarily prioritizing its aesthetic purposes—would be famously tied to anxieties about reproduction in another critical essay written in late 1935 and published in the French edition of the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* in 1936, six years after the last of these articles appeared in *Der Kreis*:

The uniqueness of a work of art is identical to its embeddedness in the context of tradition. Of course, this tradition itself is thoroughly alive and extremely changeable. An ancient statue of Venus, for instance, existed in a traditional context for the Greeks (who made it an object of worship) that was different from the context in which it existed for medieval clerics (who viewed it as a sinister idol). But what was equally evident to both was its uniqueness—that is, its aura. Originally, the embeddedness of an artwork in the context of tradition found expression in a cult . . . Art history might be seen as the working out of a tension between two polarities within the artwork itself . . . the artwork's cult value and its exhibition value . . . The scope for exhibiting the work of art has increased so enormously with the various methods of technologically reproducing it that, as happened in prehistoric times, a quantitative shift between the two poles of the artwork has led to a qualitative transformation in its nature.³²

Walter Benjamin's essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility” similarly distinguished between “traditional” ritual or cult value of a unique art object and the aesthetic values that emerged from its being placed on exhibition. Just as the nature of art's aura shifted as it moved from

ritual to exhibition object, so too did technological means of reproduction affect aura in a new way.

A comparable anxiety about the transformation of aura through acts of reproduction or restoration pervaded the Faksimile debates. After refuting “facsimile reproduction” as a form of “forgery,” Eberlein’s contribution to *Der Kreis* drew to its conclusion with the statement: “Every explanation of why the mysterious, magical, biological ‘aura’ of a work of art cannot be forged—even though 99 percent of the viewers do not notice the difference—is an offence against the sovereignty of art.”³³ Eberlein used the term “aura” (set off in quotes) to represent a fundamental quality of art that would be lost in reproduction, the very questioning of which was a form of disrespect to the category of art overall.³⁴ Although there is no evidence that Benjamin read the *Kreis* articles on facsimiles (or Eberlein’s in particular), it is notable that Benjamin’s use of the term “aura” in “The Work of Art” essay was connected to a consideration of art objects and their reproduction. This constituted a departure from his prior uses of the term: in 1930, when he described aura as an ornamental “halo” inherent to all things; or in the following year, when Benjamin suggested that “aura” connoted a “strange web of space and time: the unique appearance of a distance” that—through photography—could operate as a “medium” imbued in and filtering the gaze of a portrait’s subject, as well as a quality that realized its “emancipation” from object through photography.³⁵ In the *Work of Art* essay, Benjamin would elaborate the extent of the emancipatory project of photography, celebrating that “for the first time in world history, technological reproducibility emancipates the work of art from its subservience to ritual.”³⁶ Eberlein leveraged the term “aura” to argue in favor of retaining the damages to original work, in the name of authenticity. Copies could be made to show the original form of a work but never take its place, because “The problem of art reproductions, of art restoration, is, like everything else, a question of truth and authenticity.”³⁷ From Einstein to Eberlein to Dorner—and, thereafter, to Benjamin—it is clear that the question of the relationship between a work of art and its experience by the beholder within an exhibition context was of primary urgency in these discussions about relocation, restoration, and reproduction of artworks.³⁸

Of course, it is no surprise that these debates erupted at the same time that art criticism was attempting to process the widespread use of photography and other devices of mechanical reproduction. Dorner’s *Hannoverscher Kurier* essay entitled “Das Lebensrecht des Faksimiles” enumerated a series of such apparatuses in its defense of the artistic facsimile: “He who seeks to forbid the making of facsimiles must also ban the

movie, the radio, and the gramophone. For these are closely related things.”³⁹ However, Dorner held that no one would undermine a recorded experience of Beethoven’s Symphony in C Minor simply because he was not listening “in a crowded concert hall.” Indeed, most likely such listening was only accessible with the help of the “good-quality” gramophone reproduction in the first place.⁴⁰ Panofsky also seems to have picked up this thread in his own *Kreis* article written the following year:

A good gramophone record is not “good” because it makes me believe Caruso is singing in the next room, but because it conveys the *musical intention* of his singing precisely. The recording is good because it translates the *largest possible number* of “Caruso-esque” sounds into a sphere of fundamental *differentness*, namely, into the sphere of a *specifically “gramphonic acoustics.”* At base, this sphere is determined by an *inorganic-mechanistic character* in even the best recordings: We *hear Caruso’s* voice, but *colored* or, if you will, *discolored* by the acoustic determinants of the recording and reproduction equipment, by the axial rotation, the hard rubber, wood, glass, and metal. As such, it now seems to me that a “good reproduction” of a Cézanne watercolor is not “good” because it convinces me of viewing the original. Rather, it is good because it translates the watercoloristic intentions of the artwork to as great an extent as possible into the specific sphere of “reproductive optics.” This sphere is also, and should also be, determined by the inorganic-mechanistic character traits: We see the brush strokes and Cézanne’s watercolor paper, but colored and, if you will, discolored by the optical determinants of the reproductive machines, the photochemical processes, the *printing* color, and the *printing* paper.⁴¹

A reproduction bore the marks of its processes, Panofsky acknowledged, and good reproduction should be judged for its ability to convey the most important qualities of the original to the viewer, using the specific optical and technological attributes that were readily understood to be associated with the facsimile. Dorner took this argument much further. He believed that the virtue of the museum was to educate, and he believed that facsimiles could bring the experience of an artwork to the widest audience possible. For Dorner, this was justified because, just as a reproduced or refurbished artwork might not convey the full contour of the original material object, neither could the museum fully encapsulate original tradition, aura, or experience.

In Dorner's prioritization of viewer experience over object stewardship, two wrongs could make a right: for him, the double violations of facsimile production and museum recontextualization could combine to produce the best representation of art's history. Thus, his *Kreis* essay announced: "Since the tendencies of museum and facsimile run parallel to each other, it seems obvious that facsimiles belong in museums that are not able to give a complete overview of the development of art." Although these objects should not be presented as originals or even in the same spaces as original works, they "could substitute for originals in all areas not covered in the museum's collection."⁴²

In March 1929, Sauerlandt wrote to Dorner, "With your view on the facsimile I cannot agree. I think the facsimile is just as false and reprehensible as the colorfully painted plaster cast."⁴³ This is a subject about which Sauerlandt had written another essay that he promised to send soon. It is possible that Sauerlandt was anticipating Erwin Panofsky's forthcoming contribution to *Der Kreis*, which condemned the painted plaster cast for not being a straight mechanical reproduction but involving the "purely personal, even 'artistic'" human hand. In this case, unlike Panofsky's "gramophonic acoustic," the intervention could not be understood and filtered out by the perceiver; it would provide an additional and detracting layer of affect to the perceptual experience. For Panofsky, "the resulting object is a particular *hybrid, neither a mechanical cast nor an 'artistic' copy,*" a "dubious" object for its removal from the realm of objective mechanical reproduction to that of the "productive optic." Panofsky differentiated between this free-hand paint application and the "*inner freedom of expression* that makes a copy cast by Courbet, for example, a true work of art."⁴⁴ The distinction between mechanical objectivity and artistic expressivity thus found its hybrid in an artist's copy. Panofsky enabled the conception of a copy as an artistic gesture in a manner that Sauerlandt did not anticipate but Dorner, who had referred to the facsimile as a "medium" unto itself in his *Kreis* article, aspired to cultivate.

It was not until September of that year that the Dorner–Sauerlandt confrontation came to a head. Referring to Dorner's position on the value of facsimiles, Sauerlandt announced that he would not back Dorner's bid to join the Museum Commission. Dorner began a letter-writing campaign, clarifying to Sauerlandt, as well as the two commission members who nominated him, Carl Küthmann and Werner Noack, that he did not believe that museums should collect copies the way they did originals.⁴⁵ Perhaps in an attempt to pivot and prove his solidarity in caring about distinguishing original materials from fakes and other postcompletion elaborations, Dorner

added: “I might also mention that I have discovered a couple of questions about the detection of overpainting on old original paintings, which should at least evince some interest and understanding for the objectives of your association.”⁴⁶

Sauerlandt nevertheless succeeded in his efforts to block Dorner. The minutes of the association’s meeting on September 23, 1929, in Leipzig show that “after a long debate” (“nach längerer Aussprache”) Sauerlandt persuaded Noack and Küthmann to “withdraw their proposal” (“ziehen . . . ihren Vorschlag zurück”).⁴⁷ Scholar Michael Diers contextualizes this episode as part of a greater effort by Sauerlandt to bar facsimiles from museums altogether. Sauerlandt fought adamantly for this, a threat that “goes to the roots of our existence” (“geht an die Wurzeln unserer Existenz”) and twice proposed a Commission resolution against the museum display of facsimiles.⁴⁸ Each time—once in October 1929 and once the following year—the proposal was unsuccessful (on the first occasion for reasons of time, the next for lack of sufficient votes).⁴⁹

The debate chronicled here reflected an expansive interest, across the fields of art stewardship, criticism, and theory, in the truth quotient of materials. Debates over truth and falsehood in artworks—and over whether aesthetics were bound to materiality or perceptual reception—continued to unfold in numerous other art publications and exhibitions. Between the years 1928 and 1929, the Berlin journal *Kunst und Künstler* saw multiple pieces by editor Karl Scheffler on the serial topics “Die gefälschte Kunst,” naming “truth” as the “fundamental basis of art”; “Echt und Unecht,” noting the recent proliferation of articles on the topic in his journal “because nothing is worse than uncertainty”; and “Echt und Falsch,” decrying the “embarrassment” of mixed collections of original and reproduced works.⁵⁰ A notable exhibition responding to these concerns was hosted by the Folkwang Museum in Essen during the 1930 meeting of the Deutscher Museumsbund at that venue. The Folkwang exhibition also took as its point of departure the theme “Original and Reproduction.”⁵¹ Like that at Dorner’s Hanover venue, the Essen exhibition presented original works and their reproductions alongside each other.⁵² While no museum records of the exhibition remain, Michael Diers assesses that this was primarily intended as a “Korrektur” (correction) to the Kestnagesellschaft exhibition in Hanover.⁵³ On the occasion of this meeting, Sauerlandt, along with colleagues, received unanimous support for a resolution declaring that “those present consider it their special task to illuminate, through exhibitions and instruction, the essential difference between each reproduction and the original.”⁵⁴ The resolution included measures whereby museums would use reproductions for didactic purposes and with the requirement to mark these works as reproductions,

thus marking a conclusion of sorts to this series of published debates between museum directors over the status of the facsimile.

And yet, the debate over the relationship between the original material of an artwork and its aesthetic efficacies—or how best to convey the “original experience” of an artwork—has continued to pervade the field of art conservation to this decade. In a 2006 essay promoting an expansive definition of authenticity, as provided by the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity, conservator Pip Laurenson contrasts this with a more “narrow definition” of conservation, focused on its material elements, embraced by a variety of international agencies.⁵⁵ A notably consistent element of those latter statements is their common focus on identifying and stabilizing the “original” aspects of a work or elements endemic to its “true nature”: this is evident in guidance and ethics statements from the United Kingdom Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, the New Zealand Professional Conservators Group, and the International Council of Museums—Conservation Committee, from which Laurenson respectively pulls the following position statements:

Conservation is the means by which the original and true nature of an object is maintained.

Conservation is the means by which the true nature of an object is preserved.

Preservation is action taken to retard or prevent deterioration of or damage to cultural properties by control of their environment and/or treatment of their structure in order to maintain them as nearly as possible in an unchanging state.⁵⁶

Laurenson shows how, as a contested shorthand for “truth” in art, material authenticity has continued to be called upon as a vehicle for a sort of truth in objecthood but not necessarily a means to convey the “truths” of original form or original experience. And art advisor Renée Vara expressly considers the degree of “aura” that remains after a conservation treatment as a metric for appraising contemporary art.⁵⁷ The evaluation of “aura” and its association with material austerity continues to pervade discussions about contemporary conservation.

The *Kreis* debates, invoking connotations between the concepts of copies, reproductions, photography, damage, and restorations, showed how period anxieties about material fidelity influenced Weimar Republic art theory and museum policy. At stake were the questions of what should be allowable in the way of enhancing a work of art, as well as its display environs. Contributors took a range of positions: reproductions should

stand in for objects that could not be included in the collection, in order to provide populist access; replicas were permissible to help original objects achieve better historical context; reproductions were tantamount to restoration of art objects; replicas were anathema. For Dorner, the true form of art experience was realized only through the visitor, who concertized aesthetics through their subjective reception of replicas, restorations, and original objects alike.

With their allusions to museum education, design, and collection strategies, it is clear that the *Kreis* reproduction debates, and Dorner's contextual contributions to them in particular, were ultimately equally concerned with museum experiences as they were with any epistemic urgencies surrounding photography or plaster casts. Dorner's advocacy for reproductions and for period experiences were connected; the facsimile object may not solve the problem of removing an object from its traditional or historical context (because original objects would always be desired for collections) but the production of a facsimile "atmosphere" might better fuse the object to its originally intended reception. Thus, despite his avant-garde predilections, we see Dorner advocating a version of autonomy that is very different from the modernist myth: Dorner's work of art speaks only from within period atmosphere and context, not in isolation.

Biography

Rebecca Uchill is a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Art, Science, and Technology and the Department of History, Theory, and Criticism of Art and Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Notes

¹ According to Dorner's biographer, Samuel Cauman, "The walls and ceilings of the medieval rooms at Hanover were painted in dark colors, for, rooms except for Cistercian examples, medieval churches did not have light interiors or white walls. The rooms receded, permitting only the works of art to stand out and leaving the towering crucifixes and shining altars as the focal points of display. The gold ground and the mystical, soft forms of Late Gothic altarpieces swam in their particular 'reality.'" In *The Living Museum: Experiences of an Art Historian and Museum Director: Alexander Dorner* (New York: New York University Press, 1958), 88.

² Dorner introduced the term "atmosphere" in a proposal to describe his renovations to the Rhode Island School of Design Art Museum galleries in the same method as his Hanover galleries. This article uses the term to describe Dorner's work in Hanover as he applied it retrospectively. "Report of the Museum Director on the Activity of the Art Museum: January 1, 1939–April 1, 1939," 3 ff. Alexander Dorner Papers (BRM 1), file 470, Harvard Art Museums Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass..

³ See Megan Luke, "The Photographic Reproduction of Space: Wölfflin, Panofsky, Kracauer," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 57/58 (Spring/Autumn 2010): 339. Also historicized as the "Reproduction Debate"; see György Markus, "Walter Benjamin and the German 'Reproduction Debate,'" in *Moderne begreifen*, ed. Christine Magerski, Robert Savage, and Christiane Weller, 351–64 (Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag, 2007).

⁴ All translations in this article, unless otherwise noted, are by the author in collaboration with Simon Cowper. Rosanne Altstatt also helped to fine-tune the translations. Thanks is also due to Ines Katenhusen, who read and commented on an early draft of this article.

⁵ "Die absurde Fälschung des Bamberger Reiters läßt das Schlimmste befürchten, wenn sich nicht alle Einsichtigen gegen solche barbarische Mißhandlung wehrloser

Kunstwerke zur Wehr setzen." Max Sauerlandt, "Der Bamberger Reiter—gefälscht!" *Der Kreis* 6, no. 3 (1929): 133.

⁶ According to Wilfried Basse's review in *Der Kunstwanderer* (August 1929, 560), the actual numbers were thirty-six original artworks out of a total of 104 artworks in the exhibition. As quoted in Luke, "The Photographic Reproduction of Space," 340.

⁷ "Ein Leben in falschen Gefühlen—das Schlimmste, was es gibt!—ist die unausbleibliche Folge." Max Sauerlandt, "Original und 'Faksimile-Reproduktion,'" *Der Kreis* 6, no. 9 (1929): 499.

⁸ "Wir haben Perlen—Ihr mochtet sie auch? Hier! Nehmt sie aus vollen Händen: täuschend ähnliche Wachsperlen! . . . Zeichnungen von Dürer, von Grünewald, von Rembrandt?—Hier sind sie! Der glückliche Besitzer eines solchen Druckes ist ja 'eigentlich nur noch durch ein Vorurteil von dem Gefühl ausgeschlossen, das Original selbst zu besitzen!'" *Ibid.*, 498.

⁹ Heise presented this speech during a 1927 meeting of the museum commission in which Sauerlandt was an active member; the talk was later printed and circulated to all members of the commission on June 15, 1928. Notably, Dorner annotated one copy of this speech and archived it as his own with the label "Vortrag von Dorner" (lecture by Dorner) in his own files, though the proceedings of the twenty-third meeting of the German Museum Association confirm that the lecture and its aforementioned publication was Heise's. "Ueber die Möglichkeit originaltreuer Nachbildungen Plastischer Kunstwerke (Gips-Museen)," Alexander Dorner Papers (BRM 1), file 449.

¹⁰ "[V]on der einen Seite als 'Museum der Zukunft' überschwenglich gefeiert, von der anderen Seite als Musterbeispiel gefährlicher, verflachender Kunstpflege gebrandmarkt worden." Carl Georg Heise, "Bekanntnis zur Kopie?" *Der Kreis* 6, no. 11 (1929): 598–99. Scholar Michael Diers, who was the author of a foundational article about this debate, further suggests that the "educational value" of Heise's cast collection was "endorsed" by his mentor, Aby Warburg. See "Kunst und Reproduktion: Der Hamburger Faksimile-Streit: Zum Wiederabdruck eines unbekannt gebliebenen Panofsky-Aufsatzes von 1930," *Idea* 5 (1986): 135.

¹¹ "It appears to me that the aesthetic experience of facsimile reproduction and gramophone reproduction does not seek to rival the 'original experience' but is *qualified* in contrast to this experience." Erwin Panofsky, "Original and Facsimile Reproduction," trans. Timothy Grundy, in *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 57/58, Spring/Autumn 2010, ed. Francesco Pellizzi (Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 2011), 332. Originally published as "Original und Faksimilereproduktion," *Der Kreis* 7 (Spring 1930).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Panofsky did not wholeheartedly support the use of colored casts, claiming that in "their current, ambiguous state situated between mechanically cast reproductions and freehand copies they are *not yet* facsimile reproductions." But he conceded that, in giving a strong impression of the original vision of the works, they were "still preferable to nothing at all." Panofsky, "Original and Facsimile Reproduction," 334. Panofsky would later elaborate this position—advocating overtly for enabling viewer perception over material austerity—in his 1940 essay "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline." In this essay, Panofsky famously offered the suggestion that "it is possible to experience every object, natural or man-made, aesthetically," but, he added, certain objects "demand to be experienced aesthetically" because of 'intention.'" Erwin Panofsky, "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), 11, 14. Conservator and historian Michael von der Goltz synthesizes the multifold positions on restoration during the Weimar period, including the category of "complementary restoration" that "corresponds to the artist's intention." This latter category, von der Goltz argues, had proponents in "extremely modernist followers." Panofsky would appear to be among these; Dorner's position was even more extreme. Michael von der Goltz, "Restoration Concepts of the 1920s/1930ies [*sic*] in Germany," in *Theory and History News: Newsletter of the ICOM-CC Working Group* 3 4 (1999): 3.

¹⁴ Panofsky, "Original and Facsimile Reproduction," 335 (see fn. 11).

¹⁵ While Hanns Krenz was the actual director of the Kestnegeresellschaft during the period that the exhibition took place, and thus has been credited as its curator by some sources, Dorner was its most visible public persona and is named as the organizer of the exhibition in others. See Veit Görner et al., *Kestnerchronik* (Hannover: Kestnegeresellschaft, 2006), 176; Tobias Wall, *Das unmögliche Museum: Zum Verhältnis von Kunst und Kunstmuseen der Gegenwart* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2006), 212; Joan Ockman, "The Road Not Taken: Alexander Dorner's Way beyond Art," in *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-Garde in America*, ed. R. E. Somol (New York: Monacelli Press, 1997), 94.

¹⁶ For the list of contributing artists compiled by Joan Ockman, see Ockman, “The Road Not Taken,” 95. A partial list of lending institutions is also reproduced in Veit Görner et al., *Kestnerchronik* (Hanover: Kestnergesellschaft, 2006), 101.

¹⁷ Dr. Ute Haug, head of Provenance Research and Historical Archive, Hamburger Kunsthalle, e-mail correspondence with author, June 16, 2014.

¹⁸ “Das Ergebnis der Preisfrage der Kestner-Gesellschaft: ‘Welches sind die Originale?’” *Hannover Anzeiger*, June 13, 1929, in Alexander Dorner Papers (BRM 1), file 448.

¹⁹ Heise’s “Bekanntnis zur Kopie?” later appeared in *Der Kreis* and was first published in the Hanover newspaper series without the question mark as “Bekanntnis zur Kopie.”

²⁰ Alexander Dorner, “Original and Facsimile,” in *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913–1940*, ed. Christopher Phillips, trans. Joel Agee (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 152. Originally published as “Original und Faksimile,” *Der Kreis* 7, no. 3 (1930): 156–58. German original terms inserted by the author.

²¹ Alexander Dorner, “Original und Faksimile: Gedanken zur Ausstellung der Piperdrucke in der Kestner Gesellschaft,” *2 Beilage zum Hannoverschen Anzeiger* 110, May 12, 1926: 9. The exhibition of prints named in the article’s title, and others like it, were also subject to local reviewers’ scrutiny over the quality and purpose of the reproductions. See, for example, Broderson, “Die Piper-Drucke,” *Hannoverscher Anzeiger* 110, May 12, 1926.

²² Dorner, “Original und Faksimile: Gedanken zur Ausstellung.”

²³ In this respect, Dorner presaged a tendency of our present environment, in which reproductions of failing collection objects may be undertaken as an art conservation imperative. My thanks to conservator Richard McCoy for his consultation on this point.

²⁴ Kurt Karl Eberlein, “On the Question: Original or Facsimile Reproduction?” translated by Joel Agee in *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and Critical Writings, 1913–1940*, ed. Christopher Phillips, 145–50, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 148, 147. Originally published as “Zur Frage: ‘Original oder Faksimilereproduktion?’” *Der Kreis* 6, no. 11 (1929): 650–52.

²⁵ For a more extensive treatment of this series of articles, see Michael von der Goltz, “Is It Useful to Restore Paintings? Aspects of a 1928 Discussion on Restoration in Germany and Austria,” in Janet Bridgland, ed., *12th Triennial Meeting, Lyon, 29 August–3 September 1999: ICOM Committee for Conservation* (London: James & James, 1999). Von der Goltz points out that restoration was not a common topic of public discussion, least of all by restorers themselves. *Kunstauktion* invited positions on the prompt from artists, restorers, museum directors, and professors. In this debate, Dorner argued for restoration to produce what von der Goltz characterizes as “complementary” “completion” of a painting rather than maintaining visible damages; he, along with Austrian conservator Robert Maurer, resisted the counterarguments that this was tantamount to forgery, instead suggesting that photographic documentation of unrestored work would enhance the educational content and verification process. Von der Goltz, “Is It Useful to Restore Paintings?” 203.

²⁶ “Die Kunstwirkung des ‘als-ob’ bleibe den Fälschern und Dilettanten überlassen! Während man schon heute bei uns über jeden lächelt, der ein Kunstfragment fertigmacht, fertigdichtet, fertigkomponiert—nur Amerika hat die Geschmacklosigkeit solcher Preisausschreiben aus Reklamegründen.” Eberlein, in response to “Ist es zweckmäßig, Gemälde zu restaurieren? Eine Rundfrage,” in *Die Kunstauktion*, June 17, 1928, 8. This translation is an elaboration on one by von der Goltz in “Is It Useful to Restore Paintings?” 204. On the exhibition of cast collections and antique replicas in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to which Eberlein referred in this quote, and the associated ideologies of American cultural development, see Alan Wallach, “The American Cast Museum: An Episode in the History of the Institutional Definition of Art,” in *Exhibiting Contradiction: Essays on the Art Museum in the United States* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 38–56.

²⁷ “Kein gebildeter Sammler [der] die Ergänzung einer antiken Plastik, eines Mosaikfußbodens, einer Vase für das Museum fordert, hört man doch von fachmannischer Seite immer noch oder sogar wieder den unbegreiflichen Einwand, für Bilder wäre das etwas anderes, auf Bildern dürfe man das Fehlende ersetzen!” Eberlein, in response to “Ist es zweckmäßig, Gemälde zu restaurieren?” 8. This translation elaborated from that in von der Goltz, “Is It Useful to Restore Paintings?” 204.

²⁸ “Da der Kunstverlust und der Kunstraub in unserer kultivierten Zivilisation wieder möglich geworden sind, und da das europäische Museum zunächst auch ein Kopiemuseum sein wird, wird das Problem der wissenschaftlichen Kopie, die erst durch die Museumswerkstätten und ihre Schulung heute möglich ist, immer

drängender. Erhaltene und verlorene Kunst ergänzen sich gegenseitig." Eberlein, "Ist es zweckmäßig, Gemälde zu restaurieren?" 8.

²⁹ "So wenig man Architektur falschen kann, weil sie ebenso einmalig ist wie das Kunstwerk, ebensowenig kann man ein Bild, ein Blatt durch Faksimileproduktion fälschen, und wenn man es tausendmal zu "können" glaubt. Wer Kunstkörper, Kunstform, Kunsthaut fälschen will, darf nicht verlangen, daß man mit ihm streite, ob man künstliche Haut, künstliche Patina, künstlichen Alterswert fälschen darf. Fälschungen sind auch dann Fälschungen, wenn sie keine sein sollen, aber wie Fälschungen wirken." Eberlein, "On the Question," 148. This translation elaborated from Joel Agee's (see note 24). Dorner diverged from Eberlein's valuation of *Alterswert*: in a 1921 essay "Über den Sinn der Denkmalpflege" (On the purpose of preserving monuments), published in *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, Dorner, on the whole a restoration advocate, outlined his position that preservation should be reserved for objects of value, which for him was not defined by age but by significance to historical evolution. Alexander Dorner, "Über den Sinn der Denkmalpflege," in *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, November 18, 1921, 131–34.

³⁰ Alexander Dorner, "Original and Facsimile," 152.

³¹ Carl Einstein, "Das Berliner Völkerkunde-Museum: Anläßlich der Neuordnung," in *Der Querschnitt*, 6, no. 8 (1926): 588–92. Many thanks to Charles W. Haxthausen, for his direction to this citation and providing me with his English translation, to be published in *Refiguring Vision: The Art Theory and Criticism of Carl Einstein* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).

³² Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, trans. Edmund Jephcott et al., ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 24–25. Originally published in an edited French version as "L'oeuvre d'art à l'époque de sa reproduction mécanisée," in *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* 5, no. 1 (1936). See Peggy Phalen, "Violence and Rupture: misfires of the ephemeral," in Peggy Phalen, ed. *Live Art in LA: Performance in Southern California, 1970–1983* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 35, note 22. This selection and translation is made from the second version of Benjamin's essay, written in German, from which the first published version drew; these quotations were included in the published version.

³³ Eberlein, "On the Question," 148.

³⁴ It is not clear whether the quotation marks refer to a prior text or are for emphasis here. My thanks to Prof. Dr. Michael Diers for his assistance in my consideration of this question.

³⁵ Walter Benjamin, "Hashish, Beginning of March 1930" and "Little History of Photography," respectively. "Hashish, beginning of March 1930," in *On Hashish*, ed. Howard Eiland (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006) 58; "Little History of Photography," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings*, quoted text from 285, 282, 285. In this analysis I draw from the concise history of Benjamin's use of the term "aura" presented in Charles W. Haxthausen, "'Abstract with Memories': Klee's 'Auratic' Pictures," in *Paul Klee: Philosophical Vision—From Nature to Art*, ed. John Sallis (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2012), 67; I also am indebted to the meticulous tracking of the term in Miriam Bratu Hansen, "Benjamin's Aura," *Critical Inquiry* 32 (Winter 2007), 339, 342. In addition to Haxthausen, other contemporary scholars have noted the correspondences between Benjamin's essay and the *Kreis* articles. György Markus suggests the likelihood that Benjamin saw this series of essays on the basis of his "Work of Art" essay, taking as a primary concern, as these essays did, the photograph as a means for reproducing other artworks (a rupture from the treatment of photography in Benjamin's "Little History" that preceded it). "It cannot . . . be convincingly proven that he knew about it, though if not, this certainly would be a rather strange case of coincidence." Markus, "Walter Benjamin and the German 'Reproduction Debate,'" 352–53. Megan Luke's essay in *RES* connects Panofsky's claim that photography can be "an entirely personal recreation" with a 1933 essay by Benjamin, who asserted that architectural drawings are a means of production, not strictly reproduction: "Such architecture is not primarily 'seen' but rather is imagined as an objective entity and is sensed by those who approach or even enter it as a surrounding space sui generis, that is, without the distancing effect of the edge of the image space." Luke, "The Photographic Reproduction of Space," 341. And Michael Diers's essay on the series of articles positions these debates as "Prolegomena" to the Benjamin essay, whose author himself locates conceptual antecedents in a 1930 talk with Adrien Monnier (simultaneous, Diers notes, with the facsimile debates in Germany). Michael Diers, "Kunst und Reproduktion: Der Hamburger Faksimile-Streit. Zum Wiederabdruck eines unbekannt gebliebenen Panofsky-Aufsatzes von 1930," *IDEA: Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 5 (1986): 125–37.

- ³⁶ Benjamin, “The Work of Art,” 24. This emancipation included freedom from “the criterion of authenticity” in application to art—allowing its “social function to become less one of ritual and instead one more vested in politics. *Ibid.*,” 25.
- ³⁷ “Das Problem der Kunstreproduktion wie der Kunstrestaurierung ist, wie überhaupt alles, eine Frage der Wahrheit und Echtheit.” Eberlein, “Zur Frage,” 652.
- ³⁸ For a comparison of Benjamin’s and Einstein’s perspectives on reproduction and repetition in particular, see Charles W. Haxthausen, “Reproduction/Repetition: Walter Benjamin/Carl Einstein,” *October* 107 (Winter 2004): 47–74.
- ³⁹ “Wer das Faksimile verbietet, muß auch den Film, das Radio und das Grammophon verbieten. Denn es sind nah verwandte Dinge.” Alexander Dörner, “Das Lebensrecht des Faksimiles,” in *Beilage zum Hannoverschen Kurier* 264/265, June 9, 1929.
- ⁴⁰ “Aber wer wird heute noch wagen, zu sagen, ihm gehe der ‘Schauer vor dem Kunstwerk’ verloren, weil er Beethovens C-Moll Symphonie nicht im gedrängten Konzertsalle mit sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Störungen und in meist nicht einmal erstklassiger Aufführung im Original sieht, sondern ‘nur’ in der Reproduktion mit Hilfe eines vollwertigen Grammophons hört, und zwar wirklich in stiller Stunde.” *Ibid.* Dörner’s interest in augmenting visitor experience through reproductive apparatuses did not end with the cast or photographic replica but also extended to the gramophone. In his later work at the Museum of Art in Providence (1938–41), Dörner conceived of devices embedded in furniture that would play period music in the museum galleries.
- ⁴¹ Panofsky, “Original and Facsimile Reproduction,” 332; italics in the original.
- ⁴² Alexander Dörner, “Original and Facsimile,” 153.
- ⁴³ “Ich halte das Faksimile für ebenso falsch und verwerflich wie etwa den farbig bemalten Gipsabguss. . . .” Letter, Sauerlandt to Dörner, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover V.V.P. 21 Nr. 175.
- ⁴⁴ Panofsky, “Original and Facsimile Reproduction,” 334.
- ⁴⁵ Küthmann and Noack hailed from the Kestner Museum in Hanover and the Städtische Sammlungen in Freiburg, respectively.
- ⁴⁶ “Ich darf vielleicht auch bemerken, dass ich ein paar Fragen zur Feststellung von Übermalungen auf alten Originalgemälden entdeckt habe, was immerhin Interesse und Verständnis für die Ziele Ihrer Vereinigung bekundet.” Letter dated September 12, 1929. Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover V.V.P. 21, no. 175. Dörner’s tone continued in this vein throughout this correspondence—by November 1929 he attempted a comprehensive defense “so that my conscience is clear in this matter from A to Z” (“dass mein Gewissen in dieser Sache von A–Z rein ist”), which seemingly did little to alter Sauerlandt’s opinion. Dörner to Sauerlandt, letter, November 13, 1929, Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, III/DMB 301.
- ⁴⁷ “Verhandlungen der fünfundzwanzigsten Versammlung des Verbandes von Museumsbeamten zur Abwehr von Fälschungen und unlauterem Geschäftsgebahren,” minutes of the twenty-fifth meeting of the Association of Museum Officials, Leipzig, September 23 and 24, 1929, 4: http://digiview.gbv.de/viewer/image/PPN616566166_1929/4/.
- ⁴⁸ Carl Georg Heise, *Der Gegenwärtige Augenblick: Reden und Aufsätze aus vier Jahrzehnten* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1960), 169. Also cited also in Diers, “Kunst und Reproduktion,” 127.
- ⁴⁹ The association did, however, take a position supporting “respect for the uniqueness of the original,” according to a letter from Sauerlandt to Dörner of September 5, 1929. See Monika Flacke-Knoch, *Museumskonzeptionen in der Weimarer Republik: Die Tätigkeit Alexander Dörners im Provinzialmuseum Hannover* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag für Kunst und Literatur, 1985), 105. Flacke-Knoch’s extensive handling of the Sauerlandt–Dörner correspondence positions these two characters as marking the “two completely opposite positions that marked the museum landscape of the 1920s.” *Ibid.*, 110.
- ⁵⁰ These articles appeared respectively in *Kunst und Künstler* 7 (1928): 251; 3 (1929): 109; and 8 (1929): 326.
- ⁵¹ “Tagung des Deutschen Museumsbundes in Essen,” in *Essen Volkszeitung*, August 21, 1930. Compiled in series in “Original und Reproduktion, Ausstellung im Museum Folkwang (14.09–12.10.1930) & Tagung des Deutschen Museumsbundes in Essen (14.–16.09.1930).” Supplied by Stadtarchiv Essen—Haus der Essener Geschichte, courtesy of Hans-Jürgen Lechtreck.
- ⁵² In “‘Original und Reproduktion’ im Folkwang-Museum,” *Essen Volkszeitung*, September 17, 1930. Supplied by Stadtarchiv Essen—Haus der Essener Geschichte, courtesy of Hans-Jürgen Lechtreck.
- ⁵³ Diers, “Kunst und Reproduktion,” 128–29.
- ⁵⁴ “Protokoll der Tagung der Abteilung A (Kunst und Kunstmuseen in Essen) am 14. und 15. Sept. 1930,” in Zentralarchiv, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: III/DMB 003.

⁵⁵ Pip Laurenson, "Authenticity, Change, and Loss in the Conservation of Time-Based Media Installations." Tate Papers, 2006. Available at <http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/authenticity-change-and-loss-conservation-time-based-media>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ "Is the post-loss state the same as pre-loss state? Does the hand of another change the authenticity or 'aura' of the art?" Renée Vara, "Valuation Determination & Damage in Contemporary Art," paper presented at The First Crack: A Symposium on Conservation and Value in Contemporary Art, hosted by Contemporary Conservation Ltd. and the School of Visual Arts, New York, April 2015.